

**The Smithsonian Institution**  
**Regents of the University of Michigan**

---

The Ethnicity Name Game: What Lies behind "Graeco-Persian"?

Author(s): Jennifer E. Gates

Source: *Ars Orientalis*, Vol. 32, Medes and Persians: Reflections on Elusive Empires (2002), pp. 105-132

Published by: Freer Gallery of Art, [The Smithsonian Institution](#) and Department of the History of Art, University of Michigan

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4629594>

Accessed: 14/02/2011 17:16

---

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of JSTOR's Terms and Conditions of Use, available at <http://www.jstor.org/page/info/about/policies/terms.jsp>. JSTOR's Terms and Conditions of Use provides, in part, that unless you have obtained prior permission, you may not download an entire issue of a journal or multiple copies of articles, and you may use content in the JSTOR archive only for your personal, non-commercial use.

Please contact the publisher regarding any further use of this work. Publisher contact information may be obtained at <http://www.jstor.org/action/showPublisher?publisherCode=si>.

Each copy of any part of a JSTOR transmission must contain the same copyright notice that appears on the screen or printed page of such transmission.

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.



*The Smithsonian Institution and Regents of the University of Michigan are collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to Ars Orientalis.*

<http://www.jstor.org>

## *The Ethnicity Name Game: What Lies behind “Graeco-Persian”?*

### ABSTRACT

The idea that a group's cohesive identity (its ethnicity) will be reflected in and discernible through the stylistic idiosyncrasies of its visual culture has long been central to the art historical and archaeological approach. This is, however, a problematic premise. Style cannot be linked productively to ethnicity without a direct social context that can characterize the nature of the population group at issue and provide cues to possible versions of meaning. The persistent and tortured use of the term “Graeco-Persian style” is a prime example of difficulties caused by the approach—especially when it is deployed within a narrow and predetermined eurocentric worldview. Invented by a classicist at the beginning of the twentieth century, the term has continued to exert tremendous influence on scholarship despite its serious flaws, even on the level of describing what it is intended to signify visually. It has served to describe and explain collections of predominantly unprovenanced seals produced in the Achaemenid empire in terms of their imagined relations to a notionally pure Greek idiom. Here analysis of securely contextualized seal impressions from the Persepolis Fortification and Treasury archives excavated in the Achaemenid heartland capital highlights the problematic nature of assumptions behind the term “Graeco-Persian.” In particular, PT4 866, a clay label from the Persepolis Treasury archive bearing impressions of six discrete seals, is examined to illustrate the value of focusing on contextualized artifacts in discussions of stylistic variability in imperial glyptic production and use. Style, we find, was one element in a tool kit for communicating a fluid notion of identity in the Achaemenid empire. Relationships that emerge suggest the significance of a more nuanced concept of the linkages between style and identity. A notion of situational, rather than ethnic, identity becomes a key element in this imperial milieu.



FIG. 1.  
*Impression of the seal of Gobryas, PFS 857s (ca. 3:1), applied to Persepolis Fortification tablet 688, showing two lions attacking a stag. PFS 857s usage date: in 499 B.C.E. Photo courtesy of M. B. Garrison, M. C. Root, and the Persepolis Seal Project.*

I share with Robert Byron his inability to be moved by these *jolies laides* at any human level, in the way that most of us can be moved by the variety and drama of the Assyrian reliefs, or mesmerized by the elegance of Egyptian and Oriental art, and even no little affected by Greek art of the High Classical period . . . [which] led to the creation of what long proved to be an adequate working idiom for the western world.

Boardman 2000: 225

**A**RCHAEOLOGICAL/ART HISTORICAL encounters with an ancient artifact typically strive to determine what it really *was*: by whom it was created and used, what it was destined to mean and to whom, when and under what set of conditions it operated. The productive pursuit of such an inquiry requires some kind of cultural framework within which to situate the object, a framework that facilitates assessment of its relationships. Style is an important factor in such an analysis. But it needs to be evaluated according to rigorous standards of visual categorization of forms and techniques of production. Even when stylistic analysis of an artifact is practiced according to carefully posed criteria, its results are of limited diagnostic value for understanding anything about culture if the artifact and its typologized stylistic qualities are viewed in isolation from its relational conditions. Indeed, cultural inquiry is ill-served when an artifact is analyzed according to flawed analytical criteria of style, isolated from relational conditions, and subjected to an investigative approach driven by a predetermined mindset. This three-pronged handicap pertains in the case of a class of largely unprovenanced artifacts of the Achaemenid Persian empire: seals in the so-called Graeco-Persian style.

The historiography of the term “Graeco-Persian” reveals its serious flaws as a construct. Following a selective review of these problems and a critique of the premises about ethnicity embedded in some of the most influential literature on the topic, I shall propose an alternative approach to analysis of culturally fluid glyptic styles in the Achaemenid empire.

#### THE NAME GAME—PROBLEMATIC TERMS OF DISCOURSE

Before diving headlong into this paper, I must lay out a few terminological issues. In the discourse about Graeco-Persian style several key terms have been used so loosely as to be obfuscatory. In much of the scholarship quoted and discussed here, “Persia” is, for instance, used vaguely to refer to the Achaemenid Persian empire. Properly, “Persia” refers specifically to Parsa (now Fars), the region of the modern state of Iran where the sites of Persepolis and Pasargadae are located—the seat and heartland of the Achaemenid Persian empire. The empire, by contrast, encompassed many geographic regions whose local material cultures cannot properly be called “Persian” no matter how infused with heartland Persian stimulus through the processes of empire. By the same token, a Persian person (a “Persian”) is properly someone affiliated with Persia either by blood ties to the Persians or by acquired sociopolitical identity.<sup>1</sup>

The adjective “Persian” is frequently used to characterize official imperial manifestations. The term “Achaemenid” should properly characterize the official imperial art, ideology, and projects of the empire (Root 1979). “Achaemenid art” does not have to have been produced in or even for the heartland. Nor does it necessarily have to look formally the same as the court sculptural tradition we are accustomed to considering from the heartland royal cities. A good example of this fluidity is the statue of Darius excavated at Susa. It was originally made in and for an Egyptian context, and many of its formal elements work with Achaemenid iconographical traditions in an Egyptian mode of presentation (Razmjou, this volume). But it is certainly Achaemenid art. It would qualify as Achaemenid art even if it had been excavated at Heliopolis rather than Susa, for it was produced in service of the imperial message. It could be so even if the inscription did not specifically invoke the name of the king himself.

Additional complexities emerge when we look to visual manifestations in the service of regional satrapal courts of the empire. These phenomena must be evaluated on a case-by-case basis, as has now been done for

Sardis (Dusinberre 1997b; 2003). Some aspects of the regional record are part of the official Achaemenid program intended for widespread consumption. Other aspects reflect transformations of ideas made prominent by the Achaemenid program—but translated into an array of formal and iconographical variants based upon local predilections. In cases of this latter sort, it is clearest to deploy the term “art of the Achaemenid empire” rather than “Achaemenid art.”

Even more complexities become apparent when we look to visual culture produced for individuals across the vast empire: individuals acting (in their aesthetic and identity preferences) essentially on their own behalf rather than as high-level representatives of the imperial project. By studying seals known through impressions on informative archives of tablets and labels, we can frequently identify individuals as specific personalities and observe them closely in connection with their seals. How, for instance, do we characterize a seal clearly commissioned as a personal accouterment by a demonstrably Persian individual?

The seal of Gobryas (PFS 857s), preserved through an impression on tablet PF 688 of the Persepolis Fortification tablets, is an excellent example of the dilemmas inherent in the ethnicity name game (fig. 1). The Fortification tablets are an archive of administrative documents excavated at Persepolis, dating between 509 and 494 B.C.E. in the reign of Darius I. PFS 857s is a large stamp seal bearing the image of two lions attacking a stag. The man who used it on PF 688 was a member of an elite Persian family. Herodotus mentions him as a close friend and collaborator of Darius and also as the father of the general Mardonius, who led Darius’s invasion of mainland Greece. Herodotus also describes close family ties: Gobryas’s daughter was married to Darius, and Darius’s sister was married to Gobryas. Darius himself refers to Gobryas on his Bisitun inscription. The king also singles out Gobryas by name with an accompanying sculptural representation as the spear-bearer of the king.<sup>2</sup>

We know that PFS 857s was used on a day in 499 B.C.E. in Persepolis, the heart of the Achaemenid empire. We also know something of the circumstances under which Gobryas used this particular seal. He was moving between two locations within Persia—within the Persepolis administrative region—

carrying a sealed document of the king. What we do not know is the name or the declared kinship ethnicity of the artist who produced it. Should this seal be called *de facto* “Persian” art because we (wonderfully) happen to know that the owner was an ethnic Persian by kinship group and an individual whose Persianness was declared in monumental reference to him on the tomb of his king? Or should it be called “Achaemenid art” because the individual was a highly placed personage within the empire who used it while traveling on business for the king? Getting to the critical point in the debate: Do the solidly grounded answers to either of these questions change utterly if the seal in question does not *look* particularly “Persian” or “Achaemenid”—especially to a scholar of classical art?

PFS 857s has recently been called “virtually early Graeco-Persian” (Boardman 2000: 166). This estimation of its “look” avoids working with Near Eastern backdrops for style and composition and focuses narrowly on traditionally accepted conventions of stylistic categories, which themselves are focused on hegemonic constructs of the superiority of Greek tradition. Furthermore, the estimation of the seal’s “look” as an uncomplicated determinant of the Greekness of the artifact in a social sense (and the dominance of Greekness as an aesthetic value) is suspect. Art commissioned by individuals (even highly placed officials of the empire) is subject to many variables, we shall find. Unofficial (in the sense of personally commissioned) art of this sort served a different (but not necessarily oppositional) set of social demands than Achaemenid art strictly speaking. Given the tortured senses of the term “Graeco-Persian,” does this naming assist any understanding of what PFS 857s represents as an artifact used within the Achaemenid empire?

In order to embrace these complexities meaningfully, we need to reimagine the imperial project in which individuals such as Gobryas and others of varying social stature were situated. In cultural terms, as we probe layers of art production in this milieu, we should retire the rigidities of the center-periphery model of empire. When we discuss cultural implications of art used by people in the empire (as opposed to Achaemenid art), perhaps we should imagine a vast and diverse project that allowed/

encouraged/sustained a kind of *meteorologically modeled* hegemony: a polity of weather systems—separate phenomena composed of unique geographic and historical influences but ultimately bumping up against other entities responding to larger atmospheric forces in common. These polysemous regional and individualized phenomena existed separate from, but influenced by, the official arts (Achaemenid art). Their relation to Achaemenid visual and societal norms was entwined with many other factors. The challenge is how to encapsulate such a complex situation when we wish to speak of its manifestations in visual culture.

The period of the Achaemenid empire (ca. 550–330 B.C.E.) was a pivotal moment in the cultural history of western Asia and the Greater Mediterranean more broadly. This is true not only in terms of the sheer political and military achievement of the Achaemenid rulers and the unification of a diverse and vast empire but also with regard to the way this critical moment has been constructed as paradigmatic of a “cultural clash” between “Persian” and “Greek” (Hartog 1988; Hall 1989; Cartledge 1993). In this exercise of polarization, more problems of terminology emerge. We have already dealt briefly with the problem of the term “Persian.” How is “Greek” used within the discourse of ethnic/cultural hybridity manifest in the Achaemenid empire and encapsulated in the discourse on Graeco-Persian?

The tendency to speak of Ionians and Lydians as well as mainland Greeks as simply “Greeks” contributes to that sense of Greek-Persian polarization that is such a trope in the scholarship. The collapsed terminology also reflects and contributes to a general trend to appropriate, hegemonically and uncritically, as part of a notional Greekness any cultural manifestation that seems useful for a given project in the history of Greek art. This appropriation as “Greek” of arenas of multicultural interaction that are, from the mid-sixth century down through the fourth century, part of the situational context of the Achaemenid empire and its immediate aftermath contributes to the muting of the empire as a cultural phenomenon.<sup>3</sup>

The realities of “Greekness” were complex enough without any need to gather unto it the cultural intricacies of the western reaches of the Achaemenid empire. Western Anatolia had been in-

fused with Hellenic manifestations by colonists from the Greek mainland during a long and sporadic period of emigration from the eleventh through the ninth centuries (Boardman 1980; Graham 1982; 2001; Cook 1982; Descœudres 1990; Murray 1993; Tsatskheladze and De Angelis 1994). These groups of settlers founded new cities among established cultural groups with their own traditions, including the Carians, Lydians, Lycians, and Hellespontine Phrygians. Ultimately, these regions were heavily influenced by mainland Greece and its own diverse traditions resulting from colonial encounter. It is important to remember, however, that the variously Hellenized regions of western Anatolia continued to possess distinctive cultural characteristics of their own, separated from mainland Greece by centuries of independent existence and subject to the continued influences of indigenous traditions and multiple external cultural interactions as well (Dunbabin 1957; Mitchell 1993). Despite these complexities, western Anatolia is often comfortably described as “Greek” or “Hellenized” as if this were in itself a one-dimensional description. Encounters between peoples emanating from the Achaemenid imperial heartland and peoples in western Anatolia thus become essentialized as cultural clashes between Greek and Persian.

The term “Graeco-Persian” will be seen to play a crucial role as an emblem of these problems and as an agent in their perpetuation. Adding to the difficulties, the term is particularly associated with the notion of a specific art “style” (or grouping of related styles) as manifested on “gems.” Both of these last terms are also loaded in the discourse we are about to probe. “Style” is used rather indiscriminately—sometimes seeming to indicate specifics of carving technique, sometimes particular aspects of line and modeling, sometimes specific elements of theme and iconography, sometimes aspects of composition, sometimes a kind of “spirit.” It should be clear already that as a collective analytical term, “Graeco-Persian style” is so ambiguous on so many levels that it is an impediment rather than an aid to current explorations of the processes of culture within the Achaemenid empire.

Use of the term “gems” (or “gem stones”) to describe intaglio-carved stone artifacts displaying images in “the Graeco-Persian style” exacerbates the

analytical problems. “Gems” suggests pieces of jewelry created and worn for their value as things of beauty, status, personal enhancement, and perhaps magical agencies. It does not suggest an item that might also be used as an administrative tool, marking transactions or ownership by creating impressions in clay. It may be that *some* signet rings once worn by people in Greece were rarely if ever used as sealing tools. But we have abundant evidence that many such items were indeed used to seal documents and commodities across the Achaemenid empire. The persistent use of the term “gems” in the discourse on Graeco-Persian seals dissociates this material from the very contexts of functionality where we shall be able to find relief from the circular argumentation of a century of scholarship. The same criticism applies to the term “seal stones” or “stones” used so often in the discourse on Graeco-Persian art.

#### ETHNIC NAMING: A DRIVING FORCE IN THE HISTORIOGRAPHY OF GRAECO-PERSIAN<sup>4</sup>

*The Dominant Paradigm through the 1970s.* Adolf Furtwängler (1903: 116–26) was the first to articulate a set of core characteristics that have formed the backdrop for scholarship on Graeco-Persian seals. His goal was to classify the many available seal stones from regions under the purview of the Achaemenid empire. These seals were almost exclusively unprovenanced. He identified two groups: “Persisch” and “Griechisch-Persisch.” Even his “Persisch” category was defined as a mix of Oriental and archaic Greek elements (Furtwängler 1903: 117). His “Griechisch-Persisch” category circumscribed a group that in his view bore an almost complete resemblance to Greek art, except for a primitive, mannered stiffness (Furtwängler 1903: 116ff.).<sup>5</sup> This perceived resemblance led him to prioritize (through word order) Greek elements over Oriental and to tip the scales in favor of a Greek heritage for the objects. He claimed them for the Hellenist by proposing that they were produced by Greek artisans who were simply employed by Persian patrons.

This early analysis set the agenda for generations of mainstream scholars with only a few dissenting voices (see “Alternative and Alternating Voices” be-

low). In 1946, Gisela Richter catalogued the many elements of Persian art (by which she meant Achaemenid art in that context) that she believed found their origins in Greek conventions. For Richter, very little of Achaemenid art was *not* Greek in origin. The only non-Greek elements of this monumental court art were, she proposed,

the costumes . . . the accoutrements, the types of the figures, and the composition are not Greek; and above all the theme—an Oriental potentate with his subjects and tributaries, repeated ad infinitum—is far removed from Greek conceptions. (Richter 1946: 23)

Almost all the details of carving, conventions of figure and drapery, as well as “the delicacy of the work and the lightness of touch in many of the Achaemenian products” were, by contrast, “typically Greek.” Some of it was even “*pure Greek*” (emphasis mine). Richter believed that Greek artists “adapted their style in varying degrees to local requirements” (1946: 28) but nevertheless left a distinct calling card in the feeling of their work (1946: 23). She described their position thus:

Greeks there [in Persia] worked directly for the “king of kings.” They were in a subordinate position and had to accommodate themselves to rigorous rules, which demanded stereotyped forms. . . . Moreover, the Greek artists not only worked side by side with Orientals, but had perhaps themselves lived in the Orient for some time . . . and so had become imbued with Oriental conceptions. (Richter 1946: 30)

The mention of Ionian artisans in a late sixth-century inscription by Darius I (DSf) from Susa and some figural graffiti in a presumably Greek style at Persepolis were harnessed by Richter and others to the task of proving that Greek artists were regularly employed in the production of Achaemenid art and were dominant forces in its creation.<sup>6</sup> There was a strong implication that the only thing keeping Achaemenid art from being truly Greek art was that these Greeks were working under the shadow of Oriental domination.<sup>7</sup>



FIG. 2.  
*Modern impression of a chalcedony scaraboid (enlarged), showing a "Persian" hunting a stag or reindeer. Private collection: no provenance given, conventionally dated "fifth-fourth centuries."*  
*Adapted from Richter 1952: pl. XXX, fig. 3.*

Richter was enthusiastic about using the DSf text and the graffiti on a shoe from a sculpture of Darius at Persepolis to prove points about Greekness. But she expressed no curiosity about how the glyptic finds from the excavations at Susa and Persepolis might eventually alter approaches to Graeco-Persian seals. When looking specifically to Graeco-Persian seals, as opposed to the monumental court art of the Achaemenids documented on ceremonial architecture, Richter noted an important widening of thematic content. In particular, she cited depictions on such seals of Persian noblemen engaged in everyday activities, including hunts (here fig. 2). This repertoire she attributed to Greek influence (1952: 191). Following the path laid out by Furtwängler, she saw such images totally within the confines of the Greek world, divorced from millennia of Near Eastern traditions in seal carving and other forms of sculptural production.<sup>8</sup>

In her considerations of these Graeco-Persian seals, Richter did, however, begin to find it difficult to account for the similarities between Furtwängler's "Persisch" and "Griechisch-Persisch"—categories that she had initially embraced. So-called Ionian seal stones with similar stylistic and thematic content also confounded her attempt to plot them into these categories. She stated:

increasingly it becomes apparent that the dividing line between Ionian Greek and Graeco-Persian seal stones is difficult to draw. The explanation is simple. During the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. there was constant intercourse between Greeks and Persians. Greeks served in

Persia as soldiers, traders, physicians, artists. Moreover, individuals of both countries traveled extensively. Hence the varied provenances of Graeco-Persian stones—Greece proper, Asia Minor, South Russia, Lydia, Persia, Babylonia and India; hence also the Anatolian provenance of some purely Greek stones.

These circumstances explain the two-fold character of Graeco-Persian stones—sometimes purely Persian in subject, sometimes with Greek intrusions. The adaptable Greeks obeyed the directions of their Persian patrons, but their own artistic individuality did not fail to assert itself. (Richter 1952: 194)

The acknowledged problems with these categories led to open questioning in some quarters of the assumption that the artisans producing these objects must have been Greek (see "Alternative and Alternating Voices" below). Yet the dominant discourse on Graeco-Persian art through the first half of the twentieth century relied upon the simplistic assumption that a Greek would have been the only person capable of producing or training another artisan in diagnostic aspects of "Greek" art and that a Greek's nature would have compelled him to produce in a Greek spirit that would be detectable in greater or lesser degrees depending upon the sensibilities of the patron.

We may summarize the thrust of the first seventy years of published scholarship on Graeco-Persian seals using the following ethnic labor-patronage configurations, which explained what Graeco-Persian glyptic is and how it looks the way it looks:

- (1) A "Greek" artist produced a "Greek"-looking seal for a cosmopolitan "Persian" who allowed him to produce an object of "pure Greek" style without interfering.
- (2) A "Greek" artist produced a *somewhat* "Greek"-looking seal for a "Persian" client, which was, however, modified to accommodate his "Persian" aesthetic preferences—making it stiffer, more repetitive, and of generally lower quality.
- (3) A "Persian" artist produced an only *slightly* "Greek"-looking seal for a "Persian" client of presumably limited sensibilities, yielding the least "Greekness" and the lowest quality.



These discussions relied on preconceived ideas about the nature of Greek and Persian taste and had little to do with the objects themselves or the way in which their imagery might actually have worked in cultural context. Certain features were tagged as essential to the ethnic identity of the maker or the consumer, but these features varied without compelling analytical validity. The distinctive traits of the seals were reduced to a kind of symbolic shorthand for stereotypes about ethnic identity. The lack of any known provenance for most of these objects encouraged such an approach since they could be used to demonstrate the inexorable workings of the stereotypes without any need to factor in ambiguity-laden complications that would inevitably arise in the face of details of social use (and reuse), findspot, and the like.

The efforts of John Boardman marked a turn in the terms of inquiry, even as the primary assumptions that had been built ultimately upon Furtwängler's paradigm remained firmly in place. In a seminal article (1970b) Boardman analyzed a large corpus of (mostly unprovenanced) pyramidal stamp seals, linking them through various strategies to production in western Anatolia and arguing that they constituted a formative phase of conventionally termed Graeco-Persian style seals (fig. 3). The Graeco-Persian chapter in his monumental *Greek Gems and Finger Rings* (1970a: 303–27) focused similarly on compiling from disparate collections, grouping, and dating by associative stylistic means as many seals as possible that conformed to conventional (if very loose) understandings of what Graeco-Persian might be (figs. 4–9, as a sampling of included types).

In this work, Boardman shifted the discourse so far as to say that the question of whether the gems were carved by Greeks or by Persians was relatively unimportant in comparison to the question of defining the artifacts as a class (Boardman 1970a: 303). But the issue of the artist's ethnicity remained strong in the strategy of definition even within this modified agenda. More broadly, terms of cultural ownership through ethnic attribution of the production enterprise remained an important part of the discourse among leading art historians perpetuating the dominant view. These terms of cultural ownership seem to have been crucial to how the study of the



FIG. 3.  
*Modern impression of a chalcedony pyramidal stamp seal (ca. 3:1), showing a winged figure in a heroic control encounter with two lions. Bowdoin College 484: said to be from the Black Sea area, conventionally dated "fifth–fourth centuries" B.C.E. Adapted from Boardman 1970a: fig. 823.*



FIG. 4.  
*Modern impression of banded pink chalcedony scaraboid (ca. 3:1), showing a "Persian" hunting a stag. London: no collection or provenance given, conventionally dated "fifth–fourth centuries" B.C.E. Adapted from Boardman 1970a: fig. 888.*

artifacts was justified, to why the scholarly audience should "care." Like Furtwängler, Richter, and others, Boardman believed the "gems" were significant because they ultimately said something about an oppositional relationship absolutely central to the historical understanding of both "Persian" and "Greek" civilizations.

Boardman's publication (1970a) became the *locus classicus* for most general discussions of Graeco-



FIG. 5 (FAR LEFT).

Modern impression of a chalcedony scaraboid (ca. 3:1), showing a standing "Persian" soldier. Cambridge: no collection or provenance given, conventionally dated "fifth-fourth centuries" B.C.E. Adapted from Boardman 1970a: fig. 884.



FIG. 6 (NEAR LEFT).

Modern impression of a chalcedony scaraboid (ca. 3:1), showing a Persian woman with cosmetic containers. Berlin: no collection given, said to be from Megalopolis, conventionally dated "fifth-fourth centuries" B.C.E. Adapted from Boardman 1970a: fig. 854.



FIG. 7.

Modern impression of a mottled chalcedony scaraboid (ca. 3:1), showing a lion attacking a stag. Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, no acc. no. or provenance given, conventionally dated "fifth-fourth centuries" B.C.E. Adapted from Boardman 1970a: fig. 909.



FIG. 8.

Modern impression of a chalcedony scaraboid (ca. 3:1), showing a lunging bull. Berlin: no collection given, said to have been "bought in Athens," conventionally dated "fifth-fourth centuries" B.C.E. Adapted from Boardman 1970a: fig. 899.

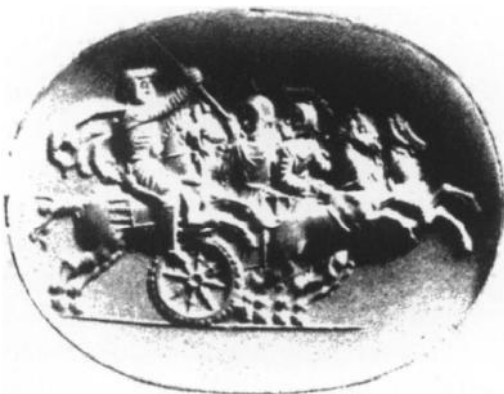


FIG. 9.

Modern impression of a carnelian scaraboid (ca. 3:1), showing a "Persian" cavalryman pursuing two other "Persians" in a "biga"(?). London: British Museum 435, said to be "from Mesopotamia," conventionally dated "fifth-fourth centuries" B.C.E. Adapted from Boardman 1970a: fig. 864.

Persian art—presenting as it did in one sumptuously illustrated volume so much visual material otherwise not known (because held in private hands) or available in one place. As an archaeologist, he himself certainly understood that there were many issues still to be asked of the repertoire he had assembled and many difficulties with working off a repertoire of floating artifacts. Yet *Greek Gems and Finger Rings* did not clearly convey these pitfalls to its large and varied audience. In the hands of scholars from other disciplines whose main purpose was to use a selection of Graeco-Persian seals as boilerplate illustrations of a concept such as cultural koine, the nuances of stylistic analysis Boardman had attempted often became essentialized to an unfortunate degree. Graeco-Persian *styles* became, once again, in some cases Graeco-Persian *style*—as if all these seals were part of a formally homogeneous and therefore culturally diagnostic family.<sup>9</sup> In other academic contexts, the ingrained strategy of subsuming a range of art production under the dangerously expansive and ill-defined umbrella of Graeco-Persian permitted even Achaemenid glyptic art, in the strictest sense of royal-name seals of satrapal courts of the empire, to be called Graeco-Persian (Zazoff 1983: 163–93, who includes the royal-name seal of Darius, now in the British Museum and said to be from Egyptian Thebes, under this rubric).<sup>10</sup>

*Alternative and Alternating Voices.* Despite the dominance of the eurocentric view among highly influential classicists such as Richter and Boardman, alternative perspectives have been offered. As early as the 1920s, M. E. Maximova (1928) made counterclaims for *Persian* production. It is noteworthy that to demonstrate Persian authorship she used a method very similar to the one used by Furtwängler to emphasize *Greek* features. In a different era, this capacity of the Furtwängler strategy to yield a completely opposing interpretation might have sparked lively debate. But for various reasons Maximova's ideas did not stimulate widespread reassessment.

Then, in the same volume in which Richter's 1952 essay appeared, Henri Seyrig reacted (more forcefully than Richter's forthright but puzzled concerns had allowed her to) against the conventional assumption that the artists who produced Graeco-Persian seals must have been Greek. Although Seyrig

was in general agreement with Richter about the influence of Greek artists on *Achaemenid* art (the official monumental court art), he argued that the artists who produced Graeco-Persian seals were *Persians*—not Greeks. He envisioned Persians who had been influenced by Greek conventions through contact with the Ionian cities (Seyrig 1952: 200). The voice of Maximova, followed by Seyrig's, attempted to shift the weight of responsibility from ethnic Greeks infused with a certain Orientalness to ethnic Persians infused with a certain Ionianness. It would be interesting to probe in more detail and with more geopolitical inflection the historiography of Graeco-Persian than is possible here. But Seyrig's shift in assignment of ethnic responsibility for production notwithstanding, his mode of analysis remained, like Richter's in the same era, focused on a notion of the ethnicity (the bloodline ethnicity) of the artist as the determinant of how a given seal would look. Subtle differences in this look were ascribed to the relative role of the client. Seyrig's position remained an approach to Graeco-Persian seals driven by notions of the artist's ethnicity within a world of Greek-Persian encounter, even though his suggestions contain strains of nuance.

Much later, Natalia M. Nikoulina (1971) criticized the paradigm of Greek-Persian ethnic encounter, as played out with reference to the term "Graeco-Persian." Insisting on the complexity of the Achaemenid world, she challenged many of the assumptions inherent in the historical model employed in previous discussions of the seals, and she firmly asserted that the peripheral regions of the empire encouraged rich *mélanges* of styles, each with a complexity all its own. At about the same time, Miranda Marvin (1973: 18–19, 25) flatly rejected the whole notion of Graeco-Persian, arguing that the category—either as a set of subjects or a production technique—simply does not exist:

it is not whether the gems belong to Greek art or Persian art, or whether the engravers were Greeks or Persians which are the questions one must ask, but in what city at what time were these gems made. One can no longer discuss style in an abstract manner as an attribute of an ethnic group. (Marvin 1973: 19)

This was a vital step out from under the historiographical burden of the field. It represented an attempt to get at the situation of the artifact itself in the “long-established and unique culture of Ionia”—to give it some provenance other than a perceived ethnostylistic affiliation (Marvin 1973: 141). Marvin aimed to recreate contexts for these unprovenanced seals by regrouping them according to localized workshop clusters. In so doing she hoped to define specific regional environments where certain stylistic variants were produced, thus enabling her to speak in terms of real-world cultural contexts within the empire. Unfortunately for the field of Achaemenid empire studies, Marvin turned to other arenas of archaeological inquiry (albeit with great success). Her 1977 dissertation was never published, and to this day it is available only in photocopy directly from Harvard University. This important effort never resonated as it should have over the ensuing two decades.<sup>11</sup>

The next alternative approach to Graeco-Persian seals came from the circle of scholars working to correct the problems that Nikoulina had highlighted in 1971: the relatively undeveloped sense of Achaemenid history and material culture that seemed to permeate the dominant scholarship. Margaret Root, working with the seals known through impressions on the Persepolis Fortification tablets, began to encourage a reevaluation of “Graeco-Persian” with reference to evidence from the imperial heartland. She coordinated a special session of the College Art Association of America in 1985, which brought archaeologists such as Gail Hoffman into dialogue with Göran Hermerén, the noted theorist of the processes of influence (viz., Hermerén 1975). Hoffman’s paper (1985) on the seal of Gobryas, PFS 857s (fig. 1), situated it as part of the Achaemenid Persian cultural context (in terms of the personage of Gobryas) while also exploring in detail possible strains of specifically Greek influence visible in its composition and style.

Soon thereafter, Root (1991) tackled Graeco-Persian problems head-on, challenging long-held assumptions about the perceived Achaemenid “absence” from the archaeological record in the western empire. She suggested that this trope in the literature served to mute the significance of the imperial project when indeed there was adequate material evidence of Achaemenid “presence” to discuss in

serious terms. She also laid out a case for considering Near Eastern models for elements of style and content in so-called Graeco-Persian art conventionally ascribed to a Greek infusion. In particular, Root used evidence from the Persepolis Fortification tablets showing the legacy of late Elamite glyptic traditions indigenous in the Achaemenid heartland and displaying models for elements typically hailed in classicist scholarship as hallmarks of “Greek” inspiration. She brought the seal of Gobryas to bear on this problem, relating it to well-modeled glyptic productions in cylinder seal format used in the archive (e.g., PFS 142: here fig. 10) and suggesting that we see the Gobryas seal as a hybrid phenomenon that could at once resonate with Greek models for theme and style and simultaneously evoke ties with longstanding local heartland traditions. The fact that PFS 142 is used on Persepolis Fortification tablet 1235 alongside a modeled Babylonian-style worship seal of the pyramidal stamp shape (PFS 143s) offers an interesting aside on Near Eastern legacies of modeled forms and more generally on a vast array of styles in circulation in Persepolis. She offered a selective review of other seal types that could speak to the issue—focusing on free-field equestrian compositions in a smoothly modeled style. Included here were the free-field equestrian hunt scene (fig. 11) on the neo-Elamite period heirloom seal PFS 51 (used by the royal wife Irdabama on the tablets) and the free-field equestrian battle scene (figs. 12–13) on the often-illustrated PFS 93\* (the heirloom royal-name seal of Cyrus I, dating to pre-empire days but maintained in use generations later in the reign of Darius I).<sup>12</sup>

Root’s arguments of 1991 were addressed by Boardman in his revisitation of the Graeco-Persian problem in 1994. He had modulated his position somewhat in the face of suggestions that his focus on the Greekness of models for Graeco-Persian glyptic might misrepresent the importance of other cultural influences. He thus turned to an interpretive analysis of Persian reception of Greek models, using the Graeco-Persian repertoire as one basis for discussion. In theory this project might have suggested the legitimacy of probing the agency of “Persian” patrons as historically interesting subjects. But his introduction stated that “much of this book is about [Persian] reception [of Greek traditions] *without understanding*



FIG. 1 BIS.  
*Impression of the seal of Gobryas, PFS 857s (ca. 2:1).*



FIG. 10.  
*Impression of a cylinder seal used by a supplier, PFS 142 (ca. 2:1), on upper reverse surface of Persepolis Fortification tablet 1235, showing two lions attacking a stag. PFS 142 usage dates: on various documents in 500 and 499 B.C.E. Photo courtesy of M. B. Garrison, M. C. Root, and the Persepolis Seal Project.*

FIG. 11.  
*Impressions of the Neo-Elamite period heirloom cylinder seal belonging to the royal wife Irdabama, PFS 51 (ca. 2:1), showing a hunter on horseback pursuing quarry, applied multiply on Persepolis Fortification tablet 736. PFS 51 usage dates: on various documents in 501 and 498 B.C.E. Photo courtesy of M. B. Garrison, M. C. Root, and the Persepolis Seal Project.*



[emphasis mine]" (Boardman 1994: 7). This study, then, explored the movement of motifs and styles from the Greek world (still a monolithic entity) outward to peoples on its peripheries who could not fully appreciate them.

This eurocentric notion of emulation was used to explain the appeal of "classical" materials in areas

outside the traditional boundaries of the classical world. Graeco-Persian seals were an essential part of this argument. They became a foil in the demonstration of the essentially crude nature of Persian artistic styles (and sensibilities) as they were combined with more refined Greek motifs and techniques (Boardman 1994: 42–48). This was an embattled scholarly



FIG. 12.

*Impressions of the Neo-Elamite period heirloom cylinder seal bearing the royal-name inscription of Cyrus I of Anshan, PFS 93\* (ca. 2:1), showing a cavalryman, with two dead foe beneath him, attacking a fleeing enemy; here applied multiply on Persepolis Fortification tablet 2033. PFS 93\* usage dates: on various documents between 503 and 500 B.C.E. Photo courtesy of M. B. Garrison, M. C. Root, and the Persepolis Seal Project.*

stance, no longer truly focused on the objects themselves but concerned with the defense of a polarizing ideal of Hellenic superiority. In later, more developed versions of these arguments, he was nominally willing to abandon the claim that style and the ethnicity of the artist were *necessarily* directly related. But he did not abandon the idea that “ethnic training” resulted in a certain set of stylistic qualities that can and should be linked to the experience of a particular cultural group (Boardman 2000: 222–23). In essence, his model was still limited to uncomplicated conceptions of identity and how it might relate to material culture.

Boardman also urged the importance of the uniquely Anatolian context of Graeco-Persian art, since this is the “only environment in which such styles and subjects might have been generated and found some approval and currency.” They would have been meaningless in a “purely Greek or purely Persian environment” (Boardman 2000: 170–71). This was an important recognition that these objects



FIG. 13.

*Impression of the Neo-Elamite period heirloom cylinder seal bearing the royal-name inscription of Cyrus I of Anshan, PFS 93\* (ca. 2:1); here applied partially on Persepolis Fortification tablet 692 in an impression that reveals the figural modeling. PFS 93\* usage dates: on various documents between 503 and 500 B.C.E. Photo courtesy of M. B. Garrison, M. C. Root, and the Persepolis Seal Project.*

were in fact tied to a world beyond the museum or private collection. Yet for Boardman, the “purely Persian environment” remained undefined. His conception of the elements of anything Achaemenid, including material from the undisputed heartland of the empire, rested on one central tenet: that even the “purely Persian” ultimately depends on non-Persian (i.e., Greek) models for both style and content. He did concede that the term “Graeco-Persian” could be changed to “Anatolian,” but he gave no opening for any other shift that might usefully alter his approach (Boardman 2000: 222). *Greek Gems and Finger Rings* (Boardman 1970a) was then reissued in a second edition without any substantive changes to his discussion of these objects (Boardman 2001). The value of continued availability of this compendium, produced by such a distinguished scholar of Greek art, is clear. Yet students of Achaemenid empire studies must regret that his Graeco-Persian chapter does not acknowledge the vibrant dialogue that has occurred since 1970. In effect, the reissuing of *Greek Gems and Finger Rings* with minimally updated annotation has the potential prematurely to restabilize (for any but the few hardcore specialists) a discourse that had finally become more open to new types of inquiry.

Following up on an unpublished blueprint of problems in the study of Graeco-Persian (Root and Dusinberre 1994), both Root and Dusinberre have experimented with various strategies for recentering



discourse (Root 1997; 1998; Dusinger 1997a; 1997b/2003; 2002; in press). Their respective efforts have been based upon work with excavated seal artifacts and seals known through impressions in archival contexts. All of it has taken advantage of the important headway made by Mark Garrison in establishing closely analyzed, visually based workshop and hand groupings that provide a standard for articulating shared and distinctive formal traits (e.g., Garrison 1988; 1991). The archival material now available for systematic analysis ranges from the Treasury and Fortification tablets of Persepolis (Cameron 1948; Schmidt 1957; Hallock 1969; Garrison and Root 2001, with bibliography) to various corpora west of the imperial heartland: from Mesopotamia (e.g., Bregstein 1993; 1996; Collon 1996), to Samaria (Leith 1997 [publishing a 1990 dissertation]; Lapp and Lapp 1974), to Hellespontine Phrygia (Kaptan 1996; 2002, with bibliography on additional publications).

Dusinger (1997a) published an important attempt to mediate between polarized positions on Graeco-Persian by emphasizing the convergence of local Lydian and Achaemenid imperial patron mandates in the context of a specific excavated seal artifact from a tomb at the Lydian satrapal capital, Sardis. This seal would traditionally have been considered as a variant of Graeco-Persian art, with all the subtexts of that terminology. Dusinger instead grounded it in heartland glyptic traditions as gleaned from seals used on the Persepolis Fortification and Treasury tablets. Her article proved that important questions can be asked of a seal that can be examined as part of a relational framework, once liberated from the limbo of "Graeco-Persian"; it also emphasized the important issue of patron agency in determining the look of the seal. The question of the ethnicity of the individual who carved the seal was not at stake.

In the same year Root (1997) portrayed the multicultural aspect of seals in active use in Persepolis during the reign of Darius I. She then argued (1998) for the significance of the socially diverse environment of Persepolis in the development of the pyramidal stamp seal types that had been seen by Boardman (1970b) as products solely of Greek (Anatolian) engagement. Boardman (1998) incorporated a reaction to Root (1998) in a sequel to his origi-

nal study of pyramidal stamp seals and subsequently dismissed its suggestions summarily (2000: 168).<sup>13</sup>

#### ETHNICITY AND STYLE

The ethnic and cultural affiliations of artists and the effects of this association on their work form an extremely complex topic. Our review of some of the major works on Graeco-Persian style demonstrates the long life that the close association of style and ethnic affiliation has had in classical archaeology, particularly in setting Greek art into relation with ancient Near Eastern cultures. The scholarship on Graeco-Persian seals is a fascinating illustration of the route that such agendas have taken and how they have developed in response to the general scholarly climate. Questions of style and group identity are fundamental to the larger pursuits of archaeology and art history. But very elemental political issues often lie behind ostensibly dispassionate visual analysis and interpretation.

The term "ethnic style" is often used to describe a relation between objects and group affiliation based on a preconceived notion of identity and the way it is marked by visual cues. But style cannot be linked to ethnicity or group identity without a direct social context that specifies possible function and meaning. "Graeco-Persian" is an example of an artificial category that conflates a spectrum of visual types under one "ethnic" rubric in an attempt to cover over the holes left by the casual use of group monikers. This long-lived and problematic category was created by classical scholars to describe and explain unprovenanced seal collections and to claim material culture produced in the Achaemenid empire as a marginal part of the Greek idiom. Many of the seals used to characterize Graeco-Persian style(s) by Boardman (1970a; 2001) (figs. 3–9) are presumably neither canonically Greek in style or production, nor are they Persian (Dusinger 1997a: 109–15). This highly subjective "more or less" approach to defining what really matters about what an artifact represents culturally has produced an amorphous and shifting set of objects that defy productive classification on formal grounds. Furthermore, something of a double standard is being applied here to the "Greekness" of a classification. What are the terms by which an artifact

is labeled “Greek” rather than “Hellenizing” or “Graeco-Persian,” for instance? How, if at all, have most scholars moved toward the interpretive nuances implied by that question?

As a stylistic amalgam the characteristics of Graeco-Persian are infamously difficult to apply. The boundaries of the group have been defined in technical, stylistic, and even what I can only describe as “atmospheric” terms. Scholars have focused on style, motif, and a certain subjective “spirit” in the images on the seals and sealings, using these characteristics to construct models of production that would explain the cultural interaction they read in the images. The difficulty lies in the subjectivity and subtlety of the group’s characteristics, as well as an almost universal reluctance actually to use “Graeco-Persian” as an analytical tool (Root 1991; 1994; Garrison 2001).

One hallmark of Graeco-Persian studies has been the disinclination to consider these objects outside of a set of rigid categories with distinct cultural boundaries. This tendency has led scholars to create false progressions of refinement based on degrees of Greekness. These false progressions ultimately obscure the fact that all of these stylistic and technical types coexisted and resonated in the same cultural context. Furthermore, they obscure the functional interconnectedness of the objects and the complex ways that they participated in the same social/administrative landscapes (Root 1997). As Dussinberre has pointed out emphatically (1997b: 232; 2002: 163), the great majority of the seals designated Graeco-Persian are unprovenanced.<sup>14</sup> For the minority that do carry a provenance, this is often putative: the dealer’s word, either legitimate or fictive. Because most of these objects exist without the complications of archaeological context, the theories that are constructed around them can reflect whatever paradigms are brought to them. This almost inescapably circular approach drastically limits the evidentiary potential of these objects. Much of their significance and the social dynamics surrounding them are lost (Root 1994; 2002: 171).

Perhaps worst of all in this regard, the categories that have been created around the Graeco-Persian idea in the traditional scholarship are essentially useless in discussing how these floating artifacts may relate to excavated seals that have their aesthetic and social dynamics intact in some degree. The fact that

these categories of cultural boundedness have *not* been found helpful by individuals working with the archives of seal impressions and contextualized seal artifacts should signal problems with the utility of the naming and the ideas behind it.

The boundaries of things “Greek” have traditionally been very expansive. Like Achaemenid art, Roman art, Phoenician art, and Gandaran art were (and sometimes still are) discussed in terms of the overwhelming debt they owed to Greek influence, as if this were the most important aspect of their existence.<sup>15</sup> This approach has served to enhance the demonstrable “worth” of Greek art, in part by proving the extraordinary reach of its agency in time and place. The importance of Greek ideas and styles to all these cultural groups is undeniable, but physical transformations are a mutual process and involve the exchange of ideas on both sides (Hoffman 1997: 2–5). By contrast, the boundaries of things Near Eastern shrink inexorably (such that royal-name seals of the Achaemenid court may be termed Graeco-Persian/Greek-inspired)!

Style should not be read as a direct indicator of the ethnic identity or group affiliation of its producer or its consumer as if it were above all a kind of entrenched or learned behavioral preference. Deployment of a particular style—whether in dress, ceramics, seals, or other material and processual manifestations—is certainly one of many possible tools available to a social group or an individual for articulating identity. But to insist on the style of an artifact as diagnostic of the ethnicity of the person who made it suggests that some inherited factor preordains how art is produced. Certainly in the developed and mobile context of the Achaemenid empire, this idea is not sustainable. Styles can be learned; they definitely were learned by a range of producers in the Achaemenid context. An artist did not need to be Persian to carve a convincing Persian man in the Persepolitan Court Style. He did not need to be Athenian to carve a convincing figure of Athena in Periclean Athens (Root 1986). By the same token, the art patron (the consumer in the glyptic studio) did not need to be reacting to encoded “ethnic” patterns of response in order to commission or purchase ready-made a seal of a certain look. Conscious signals of group affiliation cannot be interpreted one-dimensionally; they are subject to multiple situational influences and interpretations on the part



of the patron (and also on the part of those who see the art in the possession of the patron).

Stylistic choices are inherently complex, and their relation to identity and meaning is almost impossible to reconstruct without some kind of social framework.<sup>16</sup> The largely unprovenanced seals of the prevalent Graeco-Persian discourse have been read as if style were a direct indicator of ethnic identity. The mixing of multiple “ethnic styles” on the seals has been seen as replicating the social relations between two groups (“Greeks” and “Persians”). In such a discourse, the seals become passive pawns.

The social context of a seal, when available for study, has the potential to become an active participant in its investigation; its style can be considered along with other factors as part of a complex social negotiation and representation. Nicholas Thomas’s work on the role of the object in exchange systems and the relation between artifact and identity has demonstrated how, in a colonial context, style is modified when an object is reappropriated and recontextualized in a foreign social milieu. As the object is modified and reinterpreted, meaning becomes lodged not in the appearance of the object but in the way that it becomes mutable (Thomas 1991: 22–30). In terms of the Graeco-Persian problem, the style of a seal did not map some absolute truth about the weighting of a set of alternatives on a scale between Greek- and Persian-influenced production. The style (as well as other features of such a seal) was a suitable slate for many meanings—political, personal, economic, symbolic, etc.

Thomas (1991: 88) convincingly demonstrates that a stylistically or functionally foreign object is brought into a new context and resituated there, reinterpreted and inserted into its new home as an essentially *new* thing. Thus, interpretations of and assumptions about the adoption of foreign objects, styles, and motifs within a colonized world must be approached critically. Without some sense of the social and material setting in which an object was used—some sense of its “frame”—one is forced to draw on preconceived notions about constituent influences. Conclusions formed on that basis are inherently suspect.

Özgen, Öztürk, et al. (1996) have dealt directly with a problem relevant to this discussion of Graeco-

Persian seals. A group of looted antiquities (including numerous seals of types that would conventionally be called Graeco-Persian) had been returned from the Metropolitan Museum of Art to Turkey, where archaeologists were faced with the challenge of reintegrating them within documented remnants of tomb assemblages. The authors point out two challenges: first, determining the most likely point of origin for each object based on analysis of comparanda with secure archaeological pedigree; and second, refining the assessments of archaeological context so that more specific conclusions could be reached on the precise tomb assemblage to which each item originally belonged (Özgen, Öztürk, et al. 1996: 64). The archaeological and forensic results achieved by this research team were remarkable. They cannot hope to be duplicated very often. Instead, other strategies need to be developed for the reintegration of categories of so-called Graeco-Persian seals into the life of the Achaemenid empire.

#### BURIED CONTEXT:

##### PERSEPOLIS TREASURY LABEL PT4 866

The analysis of seals known through impressions used in archival contexts offers one such strategy for explicating hybrid styles and repertoires of imagery that seem to fuse “Greek” and “Persian” elements in varying ways. An important aim of this strategy is to grapple with visual art as a manifestation of fluid notions of identity in a multicultural imperial environment.

I take as my case study a clay label, PT4 866 (fig. 14), belonging to the Persepolis Treasury archive and bearing the impressions of six discrete seals (Schmidt 1957: 5–7). The archive, excavated by the Oriental Institute between 1936 and 1938, comprises inscribed tablets and also sealed labels that were attached to a variety of items, including written documents on leather or papyrus that have not survived (Cameron 1948; Garrison 1988: 172–77; Garrison and Root 2001: 33–34). PT4 866 enables us to view a cluster of seals in active use in the same events of social (and stylistic) interaction at the court of Xerxes—early Artaxerxes I. Using this cluster of stylistically variant seals that embrace both “Greek”-looking seals and “Persian”-looking ones, I consider the patterns



FIG. 14.  
*Persepolis Treasury label*  
 PT4 866 (ca. 2:1),  
 featuring the impression of  
 PTS 44s, a stamp seal with  
 elliptical face showing a  
 nude charioteer. PTS 44s  
 usage dates: between 467  
 and 459 B.C.E. (established  
 through link with PTS 5\*).  
 Photo courtesy of the  
 Oriental Institute of the  
 University of Chicago.

of use that emerge as well as the patterns of links with other seals in the archive. This analysis stresses relations between style and *situational*—rather than *ethnic*—identity.

Although Erich Schmidt published photographs and analyses of the seals in the Treasury archive in 1957, the material has not been explored systematically for what it may tell us about the Graeco-Persian problem. Each of the seals used on our label sits at the center of its own web of connections, surrounded by concentric rings of iconographic and material connections. The “aesthetic, administrative and social dynamics” of the seals (Root 1997: 231) emerge from

the patterns in their use; unprovenanced seals of similar types and styles can at least be placed alongside these multiply contextualized seals known through their impressions.

Out of the some 199 sealed labels in the Treasury archive, PT4 866 is of particular interest to us here because Boardman illustrated it (2000: fig. 5.33). Commentary on seals known through archival impressions was a late and welcome addition to Boardman’s approach. He illustrated this Treasury label because of one of the seals impressed on it: PTS 44s (fig. 14).<sup>17</sup> With reference to this seal, which Boardman calls a “Greek ring” in the caption to his fig. 5.33, he remarks



FIG. 15.  
*Persepolis Treasury tablet PT4 650 (ca. 2:1), bearing an impression of PTS 5\*, a royal-name cylinder seal of Xerxes I, showing a heroic encounter scene. PTS 5\* usage dates: on various dated documents (as well as undated labels) between 467 and 459 B.C.E. (extending into year 5 of the reign of Artaxerxes I). Photo courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.*

FIG. 16.  
*Persepolis Treasury label PT4 619 (ca. 1:1), featuring a partial impression of PTS 19, a cylinder showing bullmen supporting the symbol of Ahuramazda. PTS 19 usage dates: between 467 and 459 B.C.E. (established through link with PTS 5\*). Photo courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.*



upon the fact that PTS 44s occurs with two “eastern-style” cylinder seals (PTS 5\* and PTS 19: see here figs. 15–16 for clear views of these seals):

To use the term ‘Greco-’anything of eastern products invites criticism these days, but in the case of

the Greco-Persian seals the prefix can be readily justified, without asserting that they could only have been made by Greeks. (Far better justified than the term ‘Greco-Phoenician’ which should be abandoned.) This is a case where elements not only of Greek style but of Greek taste were

TABLE 1.

*Patterns of use on Treasury labels of all seals in the PT4 866 cluster*

<i>Label no.</i>	<i>PTS 5*</i>	<i>PTS 19</i>	<i>PTS 44s</i>	<i>PTS 54s</i>	<i>PTS 55s</i>	<i>PTS 70s</i>
PT4 619	•	•	•	•	•	
PT4 771		•				
PT4 866	•	•	•	•	•	•
PT4 894	•	•		•		•
PT4 946	•	•				
PT4 947		•				
PT4 604			•			
PT4 705			•	•	•	
PT4 894	•	•		•		•
PT4 198						•
PT4 671						•
PT4 944						•
PT4 945						•

imposed on subjects deemed suitable for a Persian satrapal environment, no little permeated by Greek views on what was appropriate for the less-than-official arts. But the products, just as Greek seals, could be used on official Persian business, and beside the eastern-style cylinders on the same sealing. (Boardman 2000: 168–69)

Boardman uses PT4 866 to demonstrate that Greek themes and styles had penetrated the Achaemenid infrastructure to such an extent that they were thought just as appropriate for use in official capacities as were “eastern style” seals. In fact, the object, as part of the archive, is a fascinating piece of evidence of the interplay and use of seals with multiple stylistic ancestries present on an object that participated in economic activities in the very heart of the Achaemenid Persian empire. But its interest extends even further. This sealed label can be thought of as a landscape on which social discourse and the fluidity of choice are negotiated (Root 1997: 231–33). Through these six seals and the relations that extend out from them, so-called Graeco-Persian images are integrated into the cultural choices available to individuals with extensive personal connections operating in a milieu where pluralism in imagery and style is acceptable and perhaps even coveted.

The label documents a functional group of seals that were used together repeatedly in a series of related social actions. In addition to PTS 44s, Board-

man’s focal point, the other five seals appearing on the label are PTS 5\*, PTS 19, PTS 54s, PTS 55s, and PTS 70s (figs. 15–19 respectively). PTS 5\* is a royal-name seal of Xerxes, inscribed in Old Persian and used between 467 and 459 B.C.E. as an office seal by a Treasury official whose name has not been retrieved (Schmidt 1957: 8, 16–17; Garrison and Root 2001: 34 and n. 99, 54, 59). As luck would have it, we do not know the name of *any* of the individuals using the seals on PT4 866, but a web of their interactions can be pieced together by looking closely at the patterns of seal use in the archive as a whole. This cluster of seals used on PT4 866 is one of several such clusters used in multiple combinations repeated on tablets and/or labels in the archive.

The PT4 866 cluster of six seals is used in various groupings on thirteen separate labels (table 1). The grouping of these seal impressions is remarkably tight, with only two other seals, PTS 21 and PTS 72s, intersecting with the group on only four out of thirteen labels (table 2).

TABLE 2.

*Other seals (+) interacting with the PT4 866 cluster (•)*

<i>Label no.</i>	<i>PTS 5*</i>	<i>PTS 19</i>	<i>PTS 21</i>	<i>PTS 28</i>	<i>PTS 70s</i>	<i>PTS 72s</i>
PT4 198			*		•	
PT4 840				•		+
PT4 859						+
PT4 946	•	•				+

N.B.: PT4 198 and PT4 946 are also listed in table 1.

FIG. 17.  
Persepolis Treasury label PT4 894 (ca. 2:1), featuring an impression of PTS 54s, a signet ring with a pointed elliptical bezel showing a standing nude man. PTS 54s usage dates: between 467 and 459 B.C.E. (established through link with PTS 5\*). Photo courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.



FIG. 18.  
Persepolis Treasury label PT4 619 (ca. 1:1), featuring an impression of PTS 55s, a signet ring or stamp seal with an elliptical or circular bezel/face showing a seated man pulling on a boot (?). PTS 55s usage dates: between 467 and 459 B.C.E. (established through link with PTS 5\*). Photo courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.





FIG. 19.

*Persepolis Treasury label PT4 944 (ca. 2:1), featuring an impression of PTS 70s, a signet ring or stamp seal with an elliptical bezel/face showing a lunging bull. PTS 70s usage dates: between 467 and 459 B.C.E. (established through link with PTS 5\*). Photo courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.*

The types of images and styles represented in the PT4 866 cluster are varied. Two cylinder seals bear very recognizable Achaemenid themes of ancient Near Eastern pedigree carved in Persepolitan Court Style (PTS 5\* and PTS 19) alongside four stamp seals, all of which convey some other stylistic traits and would conventionally be termed Greek or Graeco-Persian (with distinctions between the two left vague). This observation certainly demonstrates how closely a range of “Greek,” “Hellenizing,” or “Graeco-Persian” seals are woven into the social institutions in Persepolis. But it also shows that seeing Graeco-Persian as a paradigm for a polarized worldview is decidedly unhelpful.

It is especially interesting to note the expansiveness of the variety of seals that come into contact with seals in the PT4 866 seal cluster when these seals are used in other sealing events. Table 2 shows seals applied to four labels that illustrate a chain of rela-

tions out from the original PT4 866 cluster. PTS 70s interacts with PTS 21 on PT4 198. PTS 21 is a cylinder displaying the goddess Ishtar in an Assyrianizing mode. In turn, PTS 19 and PTS 5\* both interact with PTS 72s (a Greek-type stamp seal in the form of a signet ring showing what looks to be a galloping horse) on PT4 946. Then in its turn, PTS 72s occurs alone (on label PT4 859) and (on PT4 840) together with yet another seal, PTS 28 (a cylinder seal in Court Style displaying a “Persian” leading “Greek” captives and spearing one of them).

Even more instructive is the distribution of types in the seals used in association with PTS 5\* that do *not* also appear in association with any of the other seals in the PT4 866 cluster (tables 3–4). These seal types include eleven (possibly twelve) cylinder seals with religious, heroic, martial, and genre scenes, plus a series of seven stamps or signet rings with images ranging from a Neo-Babylonian-type worship scene

TABLE 3.

*Seals used with PTS 5\* in the Treasury archive that are not in the PT4 866 cluster*

<i>Seal no.</i>	<i>Seal shape</i>	<i>Schmidt's description (1957)</i>	<i>Schmidt's classification (1957)</i>
PTS 8*	Cylinder	2 Persians stabbing 2 crossed lions below winged sun disk symbol; Xerxes inscription	Hero
PTS 11*	Cylinder	Hero holding 2 winged bulls below winged sun disk symbol, date palm, inscription	Hero
PTS 12	Cylinder	Hero holding 2 winged lions below winged sun disk symbol	Hero
PTS 17	Cylinder	2 archers worshipping encircled Ahuramazda below winged sun disk symbol; pedestal animal or monsters	Ahuramazda worship
PTS 23	Cylinder	Persian and Susian flanking fire altar below winged sun disk symbol	Ritual and worship at altar
PTS 29	Cylinder	Combat of 2 warriors, problematic object between them, perhaps dead foe	Martial scene
PTS 32	Cylinder	Galley, 2 fish, date palm	Martial scene
PTS 38	Cylinder	4 winged genie in combat with winged man-bull	Combat scene
PTS 40	Cylinder	2 winged man-ibexes; date palm	Monsters and animals
PTS 41	Cylinder	Humped bull in right profile	Monster and animals
PTS 43	Cylinder	Ibex and tree symbol; base line	Monster and animals
PTS 50s	Stamp seal w/ circular face	Bearded man's head in right profile	mentioned as exceptionally "un-Greek"
PTS 52s	Stamp seal w/ elliptical face	2 nude wrestlers (?) [ <i>possibly erotic scene</i> —J.E.G.]	Greek
PTS 53s	Signet ring w/ pointed elliptical bezel	Man and horse	Greek
PTS 58s	Stamp seal w/ elliptical face	Persian archer, bearded, kneeling/running, similar to darics	"influenced by Greek style"
PTS 61s	Stamp seal w/ elliptical face	Priest at altar w/ mušhuš, spear of marduk, styli of Nabu	Neo-Babylonian
PTS 72s	Probably signet ring w/ pointed bezel	Running horse	Greek
PTS 74	Stamp seal or cylinder seal	Charging boar	Greek

to types that would conventionally be separated out as "Graeco-Persian" or "Greek."

What can we say about all this interaction beyond what Boardman has suggested—that Greek/Graeco-Persian seals were considered appropriate in institutional contexts of the empire and that Greek ideas had penetrated to the very heart of the establishment? Schmidt (1957: 15–16) tentatively postulated that the Greek-looking seals on the Treasury labels may have been used by actual Greeks at Persepolis. There is nothing inherently implausible about Greeks of high status appearing there and conducting official business with Treasury officials. But two factors warn us to look at the situation from additional angles.

First, there is the lesson of the Fortification archive. Here a much larger corpus of evidence may be seen in conjunction with documents that enable us to glean more about the individuals using the seals than the Treasury archive affords. We have already rehearsed the evidence of Gobryas and his seal, PFS 857s (fig. 1). From this seal alone we can say that a "Greek-looking" seal (according to conventional categorizations) *need* not imply a Greek person. We have also reiterated the point that some formal aspects of the seal of Gobryas are as much part of a Near Eastern glyptic tradition as a Greek one. Gobryas may not have intended to place Greek style in value-laden opposition to, say, Elamite tradition when he commissioned PFS 857s. And seal carvers trained in the

TABLE 4.

*Pattern of use of additional seals (not in the PT4 866 cluster) in association with PTS 5\**

Label no.	PTS nos.																	
	5*	8*	11*	12	17	23	29	32	38	40	41	43	50s	52s	53s	58s	61s	74
PT3 365	•																	
PT3 407	▪																	
PT4 8	•																	
PT4 143	•																	
PT4 175	▪																	
PT4 195	•																	
PT4 329	•																	
PT4 428	•																	
PT4 452	•																	
PT4 481	•																	
PT4 581	•		•									•						
PT4 704	•				•	•		•	•									•
PT4 790	•																	
PT4 804	•	•					•						•					
PT4 810	•																	
PT4 913	•																	
PT4 969	•								•									
PT4 979	•			•						•	•							
PT4 1021	•	•	•				•					•						
PT4 1057	•	•	•									•	•		•			
PT6 3	•																•	
PT6 5	•																•	
PT6 7	•													•				
PT6 8	•													•				
PT6 21	•																•	
PT6 22	•																•	
PT6 23	•																•	
PT6 111	•																•	
PT6 112	•																•	
PT6 113	•																•	
PT6 149	•													•				
PT6 154	•													•				
PT6 164	•																	
PT6 215	•																	•

highly developed and varied modeled styles of Elamite, Neo-Babylonian, and Neo-Assyrian traditions would have had the capacity to emulate and rework Hellenizing elements to create the seal Gobryas wanted on the day he commissioned this particular seal. The styles emerging through the study of the Fortification tablets, placed in dialogue with the individuals using them, offer an astounding potential for redirecting inquiry on the relations among ethnicity, status, and biography on one hand and seal choice on the other.

Such issues have been well rehearsed with reference to the lavishly Assyrianizing seals of Parnaka, the head administrator of Persepolis as well as the

uncle of Darius, when we glimpse him in the Fortification archive.<sup>18</sup> These extraordinary creations of Assyrianizing art, with PFS 16\* particularly being a modeled style seal of the utmost virtuosity, prove that notions of value and elite aesthetic demeanor among the classiest individuals at the Achaemenid court of Darius were not dominated by obsession with things “Greek.” Seals on the Fortification tablets prove this over and over. The lovely PFS 48 (fig. 20), for instance, offers a study of a bull marchant that has so much more to tell us than the unprovenanced “Graeco-Persian” seal illustrated here as fig. 8 *bis*. Used in the administration of grain and flour supply, usually in high-level events and frequently in association





FIG. 20.

*Impression of PFS 48 (ca. 3:1), a cylinder seal showing a bull marchant used in an office of grain and flour supply in Persepolis, here on Persepolis Fortification tablet 315. PFS 48 usage dates: on various documents between 503 and 499 B.C.E. Photo courtesy of M. B. Garrison, M. C. Root, and the Persepolis Seal Project.*



FIG. 8 BIS.

*Modern impression of a chalcedony scaraboid (ca. 3:1) showing a lunging bull.*

with religious institutions of the court, this seal was impressed by one Kazaka on a travel document (where protocols allow us to be sure of attaching the right name to the person using a particular seal).<sup>19</sup> The name Graeco-Persian is simply irrelevant as a descriptor of this seal, but this is doubtless how it would be classified as a floating seal artifact. How does PFS 48 talk stylistically to PTS 70s (fig. 19)? What ways can we devise to discuss style in such a context removed from the necessity to assess quality as a measure of Greekness?

The second factor complicating any easy suggestion that a Greek-looking seal means the presence of a Greek personage is admittedly most interesting to me. The defined clusters of seals we see on the Treasury labels display groups of individuals and official personnel interacting according to consistent administrative patterns over a stretch of time. The occurrences of "Greek-looking" seals are not casual and only occasional events. There were people using these seals according to institutional protocols at home in the working environment of Persepolis. It would be possible to do much more with this material. Our ability to reconstruct more precisely what they were doing and why would depend on a more developed sense of these labels as archaeological artifacts within the archival apparatus (viz., Root 1996). Among the further questions we might ask: Were

these labels stored in a record room or still attached to their objects when the Treasury was sacked? What could an analysis of the reverse impressions of each of these labels (which preserve negative impressions of the items to which they were attached) contribute to our understanding of the activities of the individuals using the seals in our cluster? Were all the labels attached to the same type of thing? Were they attached to doors, jars, baskets, boxes, bags, or documents? Are there sealing protocols among the cluster that can be gleaned by close visual analysis (e.g., an order of sealing)? Pursuing such questions (which would require firsthand study of the artifacts) might lead to a range of important assessments. Even to ask the questions reminds us that seals—even "Graeco-Persian" seals—were indeed functioning tools. They were not merely gems or finger rings. My current work with the seals impressed on bullae from the Graeco-Roman period site of Karanis in the Egyptian Fayoum is demonstrating the rewards of this type of research and its applicability to the Persepolis labels (Gates 2003).<sup>20</sup>

In such research, one must imagine the *creation* of the sealed label. The placement and combination of these seals would have been a process, and the act of sealing would have been a social event. Root (1997: 238–39) described this scenario as a "visual experience" and the sealed clay artifact as a

“landscaped terrain of encounter in visual culture.” This visual experience, the witnessed application of the seal to a surface, may have been a forum for the reinterpretation of the seal in its new cultural context. The hand of an official in the Persepolis court would have powerfully transformed the meaning of the seal, making it impossible to imagine that the sole intention of the user was to evoke Greece (or ancient Assyria, for that matter).

The act of creating a sealing also resulted in evocative patterns that carry meaning beyond a single impression. They are the record of these images’ functionality and are truly the only way to get at the problem of how individuals using these images might have understood them.

Thus only systematic, multifaceted study of provenanced archives of operating seals in combination with judicious analysis of excavated seal artifacts can break down the artificial and politicized construct that is the “Graeco-Persian” paradigm. By connecting the web of images surrounding a seal used in an archive, we can extend its more rounded, functional aspects to collections of excavated seals and thence, with due caution, to collections of unprovenanced seals. In this way the imagery of these archives can be supplemented by a larger comparative field of relevant images, and the resulting descriptive and functional groupings may respond to excavated objects, as the conventional categories based upon floating artifacts do not. In addition, the excavated seals and sealings will benefit greatly from thoughts on style that do not lead directly into the grip of an East-West polarization. A less burdened terminology will be welcomed by scholars of Near Eastern studies for whom “Graeco-Persian” has presented a mystification that suggests the wisdom of calculated avoidance.

The fundamental lesson that emerges from a review of the ethnic name game of the Graeco-Persian paradigm is that we must reject this term and reinsert into the mix both context and, ultimately, the individuals who used these objects. It simply isn’t viable artificially to elevate patron choices that seem to privilege a Greek ideal and to deride as “*jolies laides*” the results of those patron choices in the deeply pluralistic Achaemenid imperial milieu that happen to lie beyond a Greek-dominated modern Western aesthetic.<sup>21, 1</sup>

## Notes

1. Nuances of how various individuals of the empire thought of themselves in relation to Persia and Persianness are a complex topic well beyond the scope of this commentary except as an acknowledgment of the significance of the issue.

2. Briant 1996 indexes his many discussions, based on the Persian and Greek sources, of Gobryas<sup>2</sup> as well as Mardonius<sup>2</sup> (the son of Gobryas<sup>2</sup>).

3. The situation can be further complicated by considering the ways in which Ionian (“Yauna”) is used in the Achaemenid sources (viz., Sancisi-Weerdenburg 2001)—what conglomerations of peoples the term seems to have been deployed to describe and for what political purposes.

4. Dusinberre 2002 offers additional insights on the Graeco-Persian literature; her article in press (not yet available to me) is sure to provide more than I do here on a topic that clearly deserves comprehensive reevaluation.

5. Furtwängler’s groupings were used by Gisela Richter (1949: 293) and further refined in her work on the unprovenanced collection at the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

6. Richter 1946 republishes graffiti first illustrated in Herzfeld (1935: 73, pl. x). For the Susa Foundation Charter text (DSf), see Kent 1953: 142–44 and Lecoq 1997: 234–37.

7. See Root (1979: 7–9) for a critique of the DSf text as a literal statement of the precise roles played by various ethnic groups listed in it.

8. It is not a goal of my analysis here to refute these claims point by point through citation of different visual evidence. That said, it is difficult to understand how Richter could have considered hunting scenes as a predominantly Greek theme—even based upon what was generally known of ancient Near Eastern art in the 1940s and ’50s. See now Garrison 2001 on the extraordinary variety of themes on cylinder seals used in Persepolis, including an expansive repertoire of hunt scenes.

9. Dusinberre (2002: n. 7) cites the historian Chester Starr as an example of this phenomenon (see Starr 1977: pls. II–IV).

10. See Garrison 1991 for this seal and for a discussion of its version of Achaemenid glyptic Court Style in relation to royal-name seals known from Persepolis.

11. Dusinberre 1997 picks up the thread (see below).

12. The bibliography on PFS 93\* is quite vast because of the historical significance of this seal issued by the grandfather of Cyrus the Great. See Garrison 1991 and Garrison and Root 1996 for a selection, with discussions.

13. Boardman 1998 appeared before Root 1998 and was based on prepublication access to her manuscript. There was no similar opportunity for Root to react in her article to the manuscript of Boardman 1998 before its publication.

14. For example, of the 198 seals discussed in Boardman 1970b, 75 percent are unprovenanced even in terms of a "said to be from" descriptor. The numbers from Boardman 1970a are similar. Here, of the 214 objects discussed in the "Greeks and Persians" chapter, 72 percent are unprovenanced. On overarching problems of unexcavated seals and the market in both floating and forged seals, see Muscarella 1977 and 1979.

15. Boardman 1994 and 2000 are the most recent and explicit examples of this type of approach. Admittedly, many classical scholars have actively moved beyond such a stance, but while this position continues to be propounded from such a powerful and persuasive pulpit, it is worth considering.

16. There are really two problems here: (1) defining an "ethnic" group and working out how this modern concept can be applied to historical situations, if at all, and (2) linking ethnic or group identity and style. The theoretical literature on both these issues is immense, and I will only refer here to a few of the most frequently cited discussions. On the question of identity in an archaeological context, see Shennan 1989; on style and identity, see Conkey and Hastorf 1990; David, Sterner, and Gavua 1988; Plog 1995; Wobst 1999; Hegmon 1992; Pasztory 1989; Schapiro 1962: 297–98. See also Hoffman 1997: 1–18.

17. The Treasury seals are now designated by the prefix PTS (analogous to the PFS prefix for the seals used in the Persepolis Fortification archive). According to the conventions established by the Persepolis Seal Project (Garrison and Root 2001), a raised asterisk after the seal number signifies an inscribed seal; a small s after the seal number signifies a stamp seal. An uninscribed cylinder seal does not carry a special sign.

18. PFS 9\* and PFS 16\*. See, e.g., Garrison 1991; Garrison and Root 2001; Dusingberre 2002.

19. PFS 48 occurs on eight Elamite tablets in the Fortification corpus published by Hallock (1969). See Garrison and Root 1996 to trace the links of PFS 48 to other seals used in the Fortification archive.

20. This is part of a long-term project to study the sealings from Karanis with the kind permission of the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, University of Michigan.

21. I refer to the quotation excerpted from Boardman 2000, which opens this article.

## Works Cited

- Boardman, John. 1970a. *Greek Gems and Finger Rings*. London: Thames and Hudson.
- . 1970b. "Pyramidal Stamp Seals in the Persian Empire." *Iran* 8:19–45.
- . 1980. *The Greeks Overseas*. Middlesex: Penguin Books.
- . 1994. *The Diffusion of Classical Art in Antiquity*. London: Thames and Hudson.
- . 1998. "Seals and Signs: Anatolian Stamp Seals of the Persian Period Revisited." *Iran* 36:1–13.
- . 2000. *Persia and the West*. London: Thames and Hudson.
- . 2001. *Greek Gems and Finger Rings* (2nd ed.). London: Thames and Hudson.
- Bregstein, Linda. 1993. "Seal Use in Fifth Century B.C. Nippur, Iraq: A Study of Seal Selection and Sealing Practices in the Murašû Archive." Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania.
- . 1996. "Sealing Practices in the Fifth Century B.C. Murašû Archives from Nippur, Iraq." In M.-F. Boussac and A. Invernizzi, eds., *Archives et sceaux du monde hellénistique*, 52–63. Bulletin de correspondance hellénistique suppl. 29. Paris: Centre National de Recherche Scientifique.
- Briant, Pierre. 1987. "Dons de terres et de villes: L'Asie Mineure dans le contexte achéménide." *Revue des études anciennes* 87:53–72.
- . 1996. *Histoire de l'Empire Perse*. Paris: Fayard.
- Brosius, Maria, and Amélie Kuhrt, eds. 1998. *Studies in Persian History: Essays in Honor of David M. Lewis*. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten.
- Cameron, George. 1948. *Persepolis Treasury Tablets*. Oriental Institute Publications 65. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Cartledge, Paul. 1993. *The Greeks: A Portrait of Self and Others*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Collon, Dominique. 1996. "A Hoard of Sealings from Ur." In M.-F. Boussac and A. Invernizzi, eds., *Archives et sceaux du monde hellénistique*, 66–84. Bulletin de correspondance hellénistique suppl. 29. Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique.
- Conkey, Margaret W., and C. A. Hastorf, eds. 1990. *The Uses of Style in Archaeology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Cook, J. M. 1982. "Eastern Greeks." In J. Boardman and N. G. L. Hammond, eds., *Cambridge Ancient History*, 196–221. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- David, Nicholas, Judy Sterner, and Kodzo Gavua. 1988. "Why Pots Are Decorated." *Current Anthropology* 29:365–89.
- Descœudres, Jean Paul, ed. 1990. *Greek Colonists and Native Populations*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Dunbabin, Thomas J. 1957. *The Greeks and Their Eastern Neighbours*. London: Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies.

- Dusinberre, Elspeth R. M. 1997a. "Imperial Style and Constructed Identity: A 'Graeco-Persian' Cylinder Seal from Sardis." *Ars Orientalis* 27:99-129.
- . 1997b. "Satrapal Sardis: Aspects of Empire in an Achaemenid Capital." Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan.
- . 2002. "King or God? Imperial Iconography and the 'Tiarate Head' Coins of Achaemenid Anatolia." In D. C. Hopkins, ed., *Across the Anatolian Plateau: Readings in the Archaeology of Ancient Turkey*, 157-71. Boston: American Schools of Oriental Research.
- . 2003. *Aspects of Empire in Achaemenid Sardis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . In press. "Graeco-Persian Art." In G. K. Sams, ed., *The Archaeology of Anatolia: An Encyclopedia*.
- Furtwängler, Adolf. 1903. *Die Antiken Gemmen*. Leipzig: Giesecke and Devrient.
- Garrison, Mark B. 1988. "Seal Workshops and Artists in Persepolis: A Study of Seal Impressions Preserving the Theme of Heroic Encounter on the Persepolis Fortification and Treasury Tablets." Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan.
- . 1991. "Seals and the Elite at Persepolis: Some Observations on Early Achaemenid Persian Art." *Ars Orientalis* 21:1-29.
- . 1998. "The Seals of Ašbazana (Aspathines)." In M. Brosius and A. Kuhrt, eds., *Studies in Persian History: Essays in Memory of David M. Lewis*, 113-29. Achaemenid History 11. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten.
- . 2001. "Glyptic Insights and Perspectives from Persepolis." In T. Bakır, ed., *Achaemenid Anatolia*, 65-82. Proceedings of the First International Symposium on Anatolia in the Achaemenid Period, Bandırma 15-18 August 1997. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten.
- Garrison, Mark B., and Margaret Cool Root. 1996 (reprint 1998). *Persepolis Seal Studies. An Introduction with Provisional Concordances of Seal Numbers and Associated Documents on Fortification Tablets 1-2087*. Achaemenid History 9. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten.
- . 2001. *Seals on the Persepolis Fortification Tablets I: Images of Heroic Encounter*. Oriental Institute Publications 117. Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.
- Gates, Jennifer E. 2003. "A Study in Clay: The Granary Sealings from Karanis." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Research Center in Egypt. Atlanta.
- Graham, A. J. 1982. "The Colonial Expansion of Greece." In J. Boardman and N. G. L. Hammond, eds., *Cambridge Ancient History*, 83-164. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . 2001. *Collected Papers on Greek Colonization*. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- Hall, Edith. 1989. *Inventing the Barbarian: Greek Self-Definition through Tragedy*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Hallock, Richard T. 1969. *Persepolis Fortification Tablets*. Oriental Institute Publications 92. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Hartog, François. 1988. *The Mirror of Herodotus: An Essay on the Representation of the Other*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Hegmon, Michelle. 1992. "Archaeological Research on Style." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 21:517-36.
- Hermerén, Göran. 1975. *Influence in Art and Literature*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Herzfeld, Ernst. E. 1935. *Archaeological History of Iran*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Hoffman, Gail. 1985. "The Seal of Gobryas: Persian Patronage, Near Eastern Iconography, and Greek-Oriented Style." Paper presented at the special session, "Defining Modes of Influence: Artistic Relations between Greece and the Near East." Annual Meeting of the College Art Association of America. Los Angeles.
- . 1997. *Imports and Immigrants*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Kaptan, Deniz. 1996. "Hunting Scenes on the Sealings of Daskyleion." In M.-F. Boussac and A. Invernizzi, eds., *Archives et sceaux du monde hellénistique*, 85-100. Bulletin de correspondance hellénique suppl. 29. Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique.
- . 2002. *The Daskyleion Bullae: Seal Images from the Western Achaemenid Empire*. Achaemenid History 12. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten.
- Kent, Roland G. 1953. *Old Persian: Grammar, Texts, Lexicon*. American Oriental Series 33. New Haven: American Oriental Society.
- Lapp, P. W., and N. L. Lapp, eds. 1974. *Discoveries in the Wadi ed-Daliyeh*. Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research 41. Missoula, Mont.: Scholar's Press for the American Schools of Oriental Research.
- Lecoq, Pierre. 1997. *Les inscriptions de la Perse achéménide*. Paris: Gallimard.
- Leith, Mary. J. W. 1997. *Wadi Daliyeh I: The Wadi Daliyeh Seal Impressions*. Discoveries in the Judean Desert 24. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Marvin, Miranda. 1973. "Studies in Graeco-Persian Gems." Ph.D. diss., Harvard University.
- Maximova, M. E. 1928. "Griechisch-persische Kleinkunst." *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 648-77.
- Mitchell, Stephen. 1993. *Anatolia*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Murray, Oswyn. 1993. *Early Greece*. Atlantic Highlands: Humanities Press.
- Muscarella, Oscar White. 1977. "Unexcavated Objects." In L. D. Levine and T. Cuyler Young, Jr., eds., *Mountains and Lowlands: Essays in the Archaeology of Greater Mesopotamia*, 153-208. Bibliotheca Mesopotamia 7. Malibu: Undena Press.
- . 1979. "Unexcavated Objects and Ancient Near Eastern Art: Addenda." *Monographic Journals of the Near East*, Occasional Papers 1.1:1-19.

- Nikoulina, Natalia M. 1971. "La glyptique 'Grecque Orientale' et 'Gréco-Perse'." *Antike Kunst* 14:90–106.
- Özgen, İlknur, and Jean Öztürk, eds., with Machteld J. Mellink, Crawford H. Greenewalt, jr., Kâzım Akbiyikoglu, and Lawrence M. Kaye. 1996. *Heritage Recovered: The Lydian Treasure*. Ankara: Turkish Ministry of Culture.
- Pasztor, Esther. 1989. "Identity and Difference: The Uses and Meanings of Ethnic Styles." In S. J. Barnes and W. S. Melion, eds., *Cultural Difference and Cultural Identity in the Visual Arts*, 15–38. Studies in the History of Art 27. Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art.
- Plog, Stephen. 1995. "Approaches to Style." In C. Carr and J. Neitzel, eds., *Style, Society and Person: Archaeological and Ethnological Perspectives*, 369–87. New York: Plenum Press.
- Richter, Gisela. 1946. "Greeks in Persia." *American Journal of Archaeology* 50:18–23.
- . 1949. "The Late Achaemenian or Graeco-Persian Gems." *Hesperia* suppl. 8:291–98.
- . 1952. "Greek Subjects on Graeco-Persian Seal Stones." In G. C. Miles, ed., *Archaeologica Orientalia in Memoriam Ernst Herzfeld*, 189–95. Locust Valley, N.Y.: J. J. Augustin.
- Root, Margaret Cool. 1979. *The King and Kingship in Achaemenid Art: Essays on the Creation of an Iconography of Empire*. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- . Review of M. Roaf, *Sculptures and Sculptors at Persepolis*. In *American Journal of Archaeology* 89:113–14.
- . 1991. "From the Heart: Powerful Persianisms in the Art of the Western Empire." In H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg and A. Kuhrt, eds., *Asia Minor and Egypt: Old Cultures in a New Empire*, 1–29. Achaemenid History 6. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten.
- . 1994. "Lifting the Veil: Artistic Transmissions beyond the Boundaries of Historical Periodisation." In H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg, A. Kuhrt, and M. C. Root, eds., *Continuity and Change*, 9–37. Achaemenid History 8. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten.
- . 1996. "The Persepolis Fortification Tablets: Archival Issues and the Problem of Stamps versus Cylinder Seals." In M.-F. Boussac and A. Invernizzi, eds., *Archives et sceaux du monde hellénistique*, 3–27. Bulletin de correspondance hellénique suppl. 29. Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique.
- . 1997. "Cultural Pluralisms on the Persepolis Fortification Tablets." *TOPOI* suppl. 1:229–52.
- . 1998. "Pyramidal Stamp Seals—The Persepolis Connection." In M. Brosius and A. Kuhrt, eds., *Studies in Persian History: Essays in Memory of David M. Lewis*, 257–98. Achaemenid History 11. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten.
- . 2002. "Animals in the Art of Ancient Iran." In B. J. Collins, ed., *A History of the Animal World in the Ancient Near East*, 169–209. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- Root, Margaret Cool, and Elspeth R. M. Dusingberre. 1994. "What is Graeco-Persian Art? Perspectives on the Construct and a Case Study from Sardis." Paper presented at the symposium, "Culture and Ethnicity in the Hellenistic East: Issues, Problems, and Approaches." University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.
- Sancisi-Weerdenburg, Heleen†. 2001. "The Problem of the Yauna." In T. Bakır, ed., *Achaemenid Anatolia*, 1–11. Proceedings of the First International Symposium on Anatolia in the Achaemenid Period: Bandırma 15–18 August 1997. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten.
- Schapiro, Meyer. 1962. "Style." In S. Tax, ed., *Anthropology Today: Selections*, 278–303. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Schmidt, Erich F. 1957. *Persepolis II: Contents of the Treasury and Other Discoveries*. Oriental Institute Publications 69. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Seyrig, Henri. 1952. "Cachets achéménides." In G. C. Miles, ed., *Archaeologica Orientalia in Memoriam Ernst Herzfeld*, 195–202. Locust Valley, N.Y.: J. J. Augustin.
- Shennan, Stephen, ed. 1989. *Archaeological Approaches to Cultural Identity*. London: Unwin Hyman.
- Starr, Chester G. 1977. "Greeks and Persians in the Fourth Century B.C. Part II." *Iranica Antiqua* 12:49–116.
- Thomas, Nicholas. 1991. *Entangled Objects: Exchange, Material Culture and Colonialism in the South Pacific*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Tsatskladze, Gocha, and Franco De Angelis, eds. 1994. *The Archaeology of Greek Colonisation*. Oxford: Oxford University Committee for Archaeology.
- Wobst, Martin. 1999. "Style in Archaeology or Archaeologists in Style." In E. Chilton, ed., *Material Meanings: Critical Approaches to the Interpretation of Material Culture*, 118–32. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press.
- Zazoff, Peter. 1983. *Die Antiken Gemmen*. Munich: CH Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung.